2. The party and the state

Dualism – a system by which two forces coexist e.g. Nazi party and the German state

Some members of the party wanted to control the civil service in order to smash the traditional organs of government to establish a new Germany but many recognised the bureaucracy was already well established and educated. Jews were purged. From 1933-35 party membership grew and many jumped on the bandwagon the so called “March converts”

By 1934 the civil servants had to take an oath to Hitler and a small percentage (5) dissented and were purged. As time passed it became compulsory to become a member of the party 1939

Reich chancellery was responsible for co-ordinating government and as the role of cabinet declined from 1934 it became increasingly important. The head was Hans Heinrich Lammers who played a pivotal role in drafting up legislation and becoming a vital link between Hitler and other organisations

Even as a very efficient bureaucrat he found it impossible to co-ordinate effectively the growing number of organisations.

Ministries were run by leading civil servants and were generally more conservative

Although the judiciary was hostile to the Weimar republic and was conservative it was not immune from Nazi interference. The structure of the new courts enabled Nazis to get round the established justice system:

- 1933 special courts were set up to convict political offences without a jury
- 1934 the people’s court was established to try cases of high treason, jury comprised of Nazi members and many were sentenced to death as a result of this
- 1939 everyone qualifying to be a judge had to study national socialism and its ideological foundations

By early 1934 Gleichschaltung had destroyed the principle of federal government and replaced it with Reich Governors and Gauleiters who executed the will of the leadership of the Reich.

The party became increasingly splintered and some institutions were caught between state and party e.g. Goebbels propaganda machine and the office of the four year plan. The structure of the party was
The control of the press was not so easily achieved by Goebbels as there were thousands of daily newspapers in 1933, various measures were taken including making a Nazi publishing house and by 1939 Nazis controlled 2/3 of the press. Goebbels also introduced daily press conferences with guidance on editorial policy. The editor’s law of 1933 made the newspaper content the sole responsibility of the editor so put many off. To a large extent the Nazis succeeded in muzzling the press.

The Berlin Olympics were used to glorify the regime not only to the people but towards the rest of the world. Trying to spread Nazi ideological themes but didn’t want to stir international controversy so the anti-Jew posters were played down.

Utilised TV, radio and film to spread propaganda and spread Nazi messages, coverages of the games.

Nazis tried to instil rituals in society such as the heil Hitler salute intended to strengthen the identity of the regime. Also established a series of festivals

Wanted to create a distinct Nazi culture, trying to mould public opinion. Key themes of Nazi ideology:

- Anti-Semitism
- Militarism and glorification of war
- Nationalism and Aryan supremacy
- Cult of the Fuhrer
- Neo-paganism and rejection of Christian values

Music – preferred classical music such as Beethoven. Jewish composers were banned as were most modern musical trends. New genres such as jazz and dance were labelled “negroid” and “decadent”

Literature was restricted too, classics were allowed but literature that didn’t portray Nazism as good was banned. Over 2500 German writers left from 1933-1945

The Nazis hated expressionist of modern art which they regarded as degenerate. They allowed German romanticism that reflected Volksgemeinschcaft and people that the Nazis admired included Speer (architect) and artist Adolf Ziegler

Used film as overt propaganda, wanted to promote nationalism and propaganda against Jews using films such as “the eternal Jew”
farmers (1933 farm law, farmers were assured of sales) and security of land ownership to small farmers through the Reich entailed Farm Law, debts were reduced by tax concessions and lower interest rates also farmers were allocated grants

The public works strategy included:

- 1933 law to reduce unemployment, renewed and expanded voluntary labour service for 18-25
- Military conscription started in 1935
- Reforestation
- Land reclamation
- Motorisation, develop motor industry and roads (autobahn)
- Building, improving the housing sector
- Increase spending in public sector, public investment increased as shown in the increase in government expenditure by 20%
- The 1936 economic recovery allowed emphasis on rearmament
- Job growth was significant, 1932=6 million unemployed 1936=1.5 million unemployed

Balance of payment problems – 1936 the government deficit was still not gone and there were inflation problems. This occurred due to a lack of economic demand for German currency or exports and a lack of demand within the German economy. Schacht combined the positions of economic minister and president of Reichsbank after Schmitt’s economic policy was rejected and failed and he was removed (wanted to reduce unemployment by manufacturing more consumer goods but powerful voices in armed forces and big business were already demanding more resources for e.g. rearmament. Gold and foreign currency reserves were low.

Schacht’s “New Plan” – July 1934 he was given dictatorial powers over the economy which he then used to introduce the “New Plan” of September 1934. Provided for comprehensive control by the government of all aspects of trade, tariffs, capital and currency exchange in an attempt to prevent excessive imports. Governments decided which imports to limit or which were allowed or prohibited. E.g. raw cotton imports were cut but metals were permitted to satisfy demands of heavy industry.

Economic priorities were set by a series of measures:

- Bilateral trade treaties – Schacht trueed to promote trade and save foreign exchange by signing bilateral trade treaties. Wanted to exert economic influence over the Balkans
2. Gauleiters controlled their areas at the expense of Nazi plans: Speer used his close links with Hitler to increase his authority and used blackmail to spare his resources.

3. There was no standardisation of equipment (no control of equipment standards, using spare parts and inexperienced workers): Speer introduced standardisation in his use of ammo and transport production, Speer reduced non-essential goods production and removed non-essential goods from trains for war production. Speer campaigned to allocate vital resources. He argued that there was inadequate use of labour of workers in occupied territory, he pushed for more shifts and the more efficient use of occupied workers.

4. At the time there were competing demands for resources e.g. office of four year plan vs army for armaments, army wanted quality over quantity.

5. Corruption, Gauleiters perused personal gain over collective, SS sell Jewish workers for profit. Army factories make false claims of workers and materials etc.: Speer issued a decree punishing arms factories for false claims.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speer Successes</th>
<th>Speer Failures</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Increase in tank production, increased by 25%</td>
<td>• Speer was unable to control the Gauleiters, SS acted on own accord</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Arms production increased by 97%</td>
<td>• Labour in occupied land wasn’t fully utilised</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Total army production increased by 59%</td>
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The war – In Mein Kampf Hitler openly stated his ambitions:

- Destruction of Treaty of Versailles
- Union of all German-speaking countries
- Creation of Lebensraum: establishment of a Nazi racial empire by killing Slavics in eastern Europe

1935-1938 Germany rapidly made some key gains which changed the continental balance of power:

- Treaty of Versailles was challenged by the creation of an air force and by the introduction of a conscripted army of 555,000
- The Rhineland was remilitarized in March 1936
- The Anschluss (union) with Austria took place March 1938
- The Munich agreement ceded the German-speaking Sudetenland to Germany

However, once Germany had militarily occupied the non-German lands of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, Britain and France found it difficult to tolerate further German expansionism and immediately guaranteed to uphold the independence of Poland. When Germany invaded Poland on 1st of September 1939 they were obliged to declare war.
opposition because of the revival of remilitarisation. Adenauer’s greatest personal triumph and the culmination of his foreign policies were achieved in 1963 when he signed the French-German treaty with French president Charles De Gaulle, secured basis for lasting friendship and political cooperation. His devotion to western integration paid off.

Relations with the GDR and the USSR

Adenauer’s firm commitment to the west and his own mistrust of communism meant that relations between the FRG and USSR were difficult and strained. FRG claimed they were the only rightful heir to the Weimar republic and saw itself as the only legal representative of the German nation and implied that the GDR was not even accepted as a state.

- In the FRG, East Germany was referred to simply as the Soviet occupation zone
- No official international diplomatic relations between FRG and GDR
- When the GDR signed a peace treaty with Poland in 1950 and accepted the Oder-Neisse frontier, this frontier was not recognised by the FRG
- People spoke of the GDR in derogative ways

Adenauer clearly only wanted to negotiate on the German question from a position of strength. His strategy of Magnet Theory (idea of a prosperous FRG would inevitably attract East Germans) was based on the assumptions of developing an economically and politically strong FRG within the West to contrast the failings of the communist system. There were 3 million refugees from the GDR into the FRG during the 1950s confirmed that theory.

The Stalin notes – in March 1952, USSR sent a seemingly tempting offer to the western powers regarding the settlement of the German question known as the Stalin notes, under the following terms

- The signing of a final peace treaty for a united Germany with free democratic elections
- Establishment of a united Germany with the Oder-Neisse line as the eastern frontier
- The removal of all foreign troops from Germany, which was not allowed to join any military alliance and which had to stay neutral
- The creation of a defensive army for the new state

Stalin’s offer was rejected by the western powers especially the US who wanted to pursue the EDC negotiations (1952) Adenauer viewed it as a dangerous deal that would make Germany into a weak neutral state prey to communist influence. Adenauer also ignored the June 1953 uprising in the GDR and was accused of abandoning them. The Soviet offer was renewed on several occasions after Stalin’s death in the years 1954-55.

The Hallstein doctrine – by summer of 1955 the relationship between the FRG and the East was clearer. Adenauer visited Moscow in September and was prepared to establish diplomatic relations with the USSR in exchange for 10,000 prisoners of war and 20,000 civilians. On his return from Moscow, Adenauer stated that his own government would refuse to have diplomatic relations with any state that officially recognised the GDR except the USSR. This policy became known as the Hallstein doctrine. At this time it discouraged countries from recognising the GDR through offering economic aid to the developing world.